

Enter the F.B.I.

By JOHN A. HAMILTON

David Dinkins is not running for public office this year. The blunt-spoken president of New York City's Board of Elections has, nonetheless, taken to the stump to alert the public to what he quite properly considers a transcendent issue.

This issue reaches far beyond the city's precincts and the state's borders and involves the basic integrity of the electoral process and the compelling need almost everywhere to extend the franchise. According to Mr. Dinkins, we do not live in a truly democratic society because too few of us participate in party primaries and general elections. It is his further contention that some high government officials seem determined to keep it that way.

"The philosophy's wrong," he says. He explains that the United States stands virtually alone among the world's major democracies in imposing the burden of voter registration and party enrollment on the citizen and that, as a result in New York City, there are about two million potentially eligible voters who still have not been registered. The final day of registration here is tomorrow. These unregistered voters represent about 40 per cent of the total number of potential voters.

A better system, of course, would require the government to shoulder the voter registration responsibility. Short of this, registration by citizens could be made much more convenient. Registration could be accomplished by mail.

Mr. Dinkins made these points and others in an impassioned speech to the City Club last week. The other points were more local and yet perhaps more instructive. The whole electoral structure in the nation's largest city is a rickety outrage, unconstitutional by court ruling, inefficient by any objective standard. The Board of Elections on which Mr. Dinkins serves is such an anachronism that the courts have demanded its overhaul. It has in the past consisted of four members, two each from the major political parties in the boroughs of Brooklyn and Manhattan. The other parties have been excluded.

But not only is the Board of Elections unconstitutional; it cannot begin to handle its workload. It supervises the same number of employees today as years ago and their salaries linger at the bottom of the municipal pay scale. When Mr. Dinkins hires a Republican, he must also hire a Democrat. And as if an unconstitutional artifact manned mainly by party

drone was not handicap enough, the state has moved quickly to thwart any prospect for progress. Thus, State Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz fought the board's ultimately successful effort to have the deadline for central and branch voter registration postponed until a little closer to election time.

The state's opposition to electoral reform has now been overshadowed by something even more sinister. Enter the F.B.I. It is a bizarre case that one hopes has no parallel anywhere else. The F.B.I. the other day arrested an employee at the Board of Elections for allegedly conspiring "to defraud the United States of its right to have the registration of voters for Federal elections administered honestly, fairly and free from corruption, deceit, trickery and dishonesty." What happened, we are told, is that an F.B.I. agent received statements from two witnesses listening on an extension telephone to the defendant's arranging to have a Republican certify voter registration cards.

New York law now decrees that both a Democrat and a Republican must certify each voter's registration card. Mr. Dinkins feels that this requirement is legally suspect. Why the need for dual certification? Why exclude Liberals and Conservatives? In some sections of this largely Democratic city, Republicans are hard to come by and during registration periods they command a premium. Unpaid Democratic volunteers often find themselves working side-by-side with Republicans who are paid. First Vote, Frontlash, the League of Women Voters and other groups deputized to assist in this process joked about the need for a "rent-a-Republican" service.

Precedents from court challenges also suggest that the F.B.I.'s intrusion here is unwarranted. Perennially, after every close election, the loser challenges the ballots cast by voters whose buff registration cards may contain the signature of only a single, election official, either Democrat or Republican and, perennially, judges hearing such challenges allow the ballots to stand.

Why, then, has the F.B.I. bothered to intrude in such a case as this? Aren't there more serious crimes involving narcotics that ought to interest its agents? Mr. Dinkins considers the intrusion "ridiculous." Others, pondering what may portend, will also consider it chilling.

John A. Hamilton is a member of the editorial board of *The Times*.

The Issue of Liberty

By ANTHONY LEWIS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8—Mrs. Kay Worden is a Weston, Mass., housewife who feels deeply about the Vietnam war. During the Republican convention she put a mildly-phrased advertisement in *The Miami Herald* asking people to write to President Nixon about the war. She also took a room in the Hotel Fontainebleau and said in the ad that she would be there to talk to anyone interested.

Funny things happened when people tried to telephone Mrs. Worden at the Fontainebleau. Some were told that there was no such person in the hotel. Others were asked whether they were calling in response to the ad and told they could not be connected unless they answered the question. Somehow not many callers got through. A hotel official, when asked about the business, spoke of "security."

Mrs. Worden has had legal advice since then, and she plans shortly to bring a suit against the hotel, the Republican party and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Her claim will be that they monitored her telephone calls and harassed the callers. When she talks about the affair, she sounds more puzzled than angry. She says she just wants to find out who was doing what. "If asking people to write to the President is a danger to security, then somebody around here doesn't want democracy."

If officials of the Government or the Republican party were in fact involved in the Kay Worden episode, it would hardly be surprising. For one of the most significant qualities of the Nixon Administration is its insensitivity in matters of personal liberty.

Wiretapping is one example. The Justice Department has made a point of the small number of wiretapping authorizations it has sought and obtained from the courts—285 in the year 1971. But those are the taps under law. What is more interesting is the tapping done without any legal authority—until recently under a claim of inherent national security power that the Supreme Court unanimously rejected.

No one knows how many telephones had been tapped or how many conversations overheard in the name of security. No statistics are published. But enough of this activity surfaces from time to time in court cases to suggest that it is substantial.

On a number of occasions recently the Justice Department has chosen not to proceed with a case rather than to disclose the facts of its wiretapping. When asked to provide a list of these, the department over a week did not give an answer. But the press has reported at least half a dozen examples in the last three months.

In July the Government dropped suit charges against a leader in 71 antiwar demonstrations, Bradford Little; prosecutors said Lytle had

ABROAD AT HOME

been overheard in several electronic surveillances that they did not want to disclose. A case against Abbie Hoffman was dismissed for similar reasons, and so was one against three "white panthers."

In August the Justice Department abandoned a perjury prosecution of Leslie Bacon, who had been questioned by a grand jury about the 1971 bombing of the Capitol. It did so when asked to disclose any electronic surveillance of Miss Bacon.

In September the contempt charges against Bobby Seale arising out of the Chicago conspiracy trial were dropped; the U.S. attorney in Chicago explained that it would be "inimical to our national security" to let Seale's lawyers see transcripts of electronic eavesdropping on him. And a Federal Court of Appeals dismissed contempt charges against four antiwar veterans who had refused to testify before a grand jury; the court acted, it said, when the Government failed to deny the use of illegal telephone taps on the men.

These published instances sound like the tip of an iceberg of electronic surveillance on alleged security grounds. And of course we know also that in Daniel Ellsberg's case tapping intruded into the essential privacy of the relationship between a defendant and his advisers—and that Republicans right up into the White House did not hesitate to tap and physically invade Democratic headquarters.

Wiretapping is only one area of insensitivity to the right of privacy and civil liberties generally. Another of great gravity is the Administration's attitude toward the press and publishing. The Nixon Justice Department has called reporters before grand juries, and scholars, to an extent that disturbs many sober men. It has taken the extraordinary step of harassing the Beacon Press, a respected publishing house, for publishing a text of the Pentagon Papers after the Government Printing Office issued its version. Other examples of pressure and intimidation abound.

For all these reasons, the outlook for individual liberty in this country must be regarded as a fundamental issue in the election campaign. It is not one that is much articulated, or perhaps that can be, but many people are nevertheless aware of its implicit significance.

A President has enormous influence on the state of American liberty. He sets a tone of concern or contempt by his own discourse. Most important, he makes the appointments to the Supreme Court that will define the Constitution long after he has left office. The most disturbing prospect in a second term for Richard Nixon is his likely choice of the prosecutors to police us and the judges to expound our freedoms.

"The heavy, unrelenting pressure the Israelis have put on U.S. Jewry to vote for Nixon is thoroughly demeaning."

By Eugene Borowitz

What America needs most today is more democracy. By that I mean we need to bring everyone, particularly the presently powerless and underprivileged—Jews most certainly included—into the fullest possible participation in our economic and political life. Without this, I do not see America attaining the social stability and maintaining the national power which permit us to exercise international leadership.

George McGovern sees that as our central American problem and gives every evidence intellectually and personally that he will respond to it. By contrast the four years of Nixon rule have shown grudging and belated recognition of our political needs: withdrawal from Vietnam; wage and price controls; recognition of Red China; détente with the Russians; to name a few. Moreover, Mr. Nixon has not effectively dealt with civil rights, crime, urban decay, unemployment or the need to bring our citizenry together.

Hence I believe America needs George McGovern.

I think the Israelis have a right to indicate which candidate better suits their interests. At this point in history, the President of the United States is everyone's President. However, the heavy, unrelenting pressure the Israelis have put on American Jewry to vote for Richard Nixon is utterly inappropriate to the issue and thoroughly demeaning to American Jewry.

The Nixon-McGovern election will in no significant way affect the survival of the State of Israel. At best the choice of Nixon means some anticipated advantage. On the one hand, McGovern is thoroughly committed to the survival of the State of Israel. On the other hand, how certain can one be of Mr. Nixon's good graces when he is in the White House next November? He will then not need Jewish votes for re-election. Hence his anti-Communism might easily take the form of replacing Russia as Egypt's friend by pressuring the Israelis to accept the Rogers Plan or worse. It is one thing to ask American Jews to see to it that there is no second Holocaust. It is quite another to see potential Holocausts where there are only political advantages. Involvement in the internal politics of another country is too serious a matter to be engaged in for so slight a gain.

Worse, one can only cry "Holocaust!" so often. A few years ago we were rallied to protest the Rogers Plan; then it was to get the Phantoms. This year it is changing our political preferences so as to vote for Nixon. American Jews are not the Israeli lobby. When Israelis act as if that were the case—and that is, what, in effect, they are doing now—they take us as means to their political ends. To assume that what is better for the State of Israel is always good for the Jews—wherever they may be—is to misunderstand the ties of Jewish unity. Israel, the State, is far less than Israel, the Jewish people. We love the Israelis but these political demands are arrogant. They presume on our love and must be rejected.

I can understand this Israeli self-



centeredness. Considering the threats they have lived under, their blunders out of over-reaction have been few indeed. What truly disturbs me is that American Jewish leadership will not tell them they are wrong. Many, having nothing to believe in but the State of Israel, are its willing lackeys. Others have been so co-opted by the Israelis that they will not risk alienating them.

I am convinced that a good number of American Jews will respond to the promptings of their leadership not for the needs of the State of Israel but out of a shameful self-interest. Having acquired privilege—money and status—they prefer a legal structure that perpetuates it. When they were poor and struggling, they were strong partisans of equal opportunity and social welfare—and they cited Jewish ethics to support them. Now, instead, they will cite Jewish law which, created essentially in an economy of scarcity and geared to it, is highly protective of the rights of capital. Of course, Judaism is not synonymous with voting Democratic but it is sinful to pretend to the Jewish merit of loving the Israelis when one really is acting to safeguard one's riches.

From my point of view it has been one of the glories of the Jewish experience in America that until now—as we have become wealthier we have not become more reactionary. I think we have confounded Marx for good Jewish reasons—ethical ones, to be sure. And I hope that now, out of our anti-hierarchical traditions we will reject the urgings of the Israelis and our putative leadership. That will be the best thing we can do for our relationship with both of them and, in my opinion, will be in the best long-range interests of America and the Jews.

Eugene Borowitz is editor of *Sh'ma*, a Jewish intellectual journal published in New York, where this comment originally appeared.

The Question of the Jewish Vote

"McGovern's election would bring to power those whose morality would be very different than the majority of Americans."

By Seymour Siegel

I have never voted for a Republican Presidential candidate. This year I shall vote for President Nixon. I have enlisted as an active worker in the campaign for his re-election.

How much of this decision is the result of Jewish issues? The question is almost impossible to answer since it assumes a compartmentalized mind partially activated at different times. The fact of the matter is, of course, that each of us makes decisions in response to the various factors that make up our personalities. Thus I vote in response to my social class, experiences, sex, income, and, last, but certainly not least, my Jewishness. I do take my Jewishness seriously and therefore I am sure that it is an important factor in deciding how to vote. It is, however, not the only factor.

My vote for the President is the result of weighing his approach to three different aspects of national life: foreign policy, the possibilities of an open society, and the values that form a national lifestyle.

President Nixon's foreign policy, by and large, has been spectacularly effective. He has managed to combine realism with flexibility and thus brought about a breakthrough in our relations with the other superpowers. He has avoided total capitulation and illusion about the forces involved in today's world. He has also not been the prisoner of an inflexible attitude toward the powers which determine the course of world events. So far, these initiatives seem to hold out a great promise for the future.

The State of Israel is a legitimate issue. In the case of the Middle East, this stance of negotiating from strength has been especially effective. There is no doubt (and the Israelis seem the first to agree) that Israel is in a far better position today than it was four years ago. The strengthening of Israel's military position and the promise of American opposition against Soviet military threat has so changed the situation that the Russians had to withdraw from the area. There is now hope for real negotiations which can lead to peace. Such a record deserves the support of citizens, both Jews and non-Jews. As Jews we, of course, have a special interest in the events of the Middle East. There is no reason to hide such an interest. To most of us, the future of Judaism is now tied up inexorably with the future of the Jewish state.

It seems clear to many that the kind of isolationism fostered by McGovern forces and the severe cutting down of military expenditure does not augur well for the continuation of the kind of policy which strengthens the security of the State of Israel. This in spite of the admittedly sincere statements of McGovern and the Democratic platform about Israel. Since these promises do not fit into the general world view which McGovern represents they are less than reassuring.

As important as foreign policy is for all of us, it is also vital to consider the kind of society envisioned by the leading candidates. Jews have always prospered in an open society. An open society means an approximation

of the ideal where individuals are judged by what they are, not by which group they belong to. It refers to a social system in which ingenuity, energy and native endowment are rewarded regardless of who possesses them. The two main threats to an open society are a caste system in which people are frozen into the condition into which they are born, and a quota society in which the rewards of the community are apportioned according to some formula. Except for some of the oppressed racial groups in this country, it has been one of the glories of America that persons could rise above their position at birth. The main threat to an open society today is the notion of quotas and percentage distribution of the rewards of our community. This kind of policy is not only ineffective it is also unjust. We are bidden of course to pursue justice. But we must pursue justice justly. It has been the experience of our society that all benefit from the freedom accorded to every one.

It seems obvious that the kind of social policy Senator McGovern has espoused has the overtones of percentage distribution of the rewards of our society. He has already in the case of the Democratic convention apportioned delegate seats on the basis of sex and race. He has already promised everything from Cabinet posts to Supreme Court seats to the various minorities. Though there have been lapses in the present Administration it is obvious that the President's policies have much better prospects in preserving the notion of merit and an open society. This is beneficial to Jews and other "high achievers." It is, in the long run, the best way for the groups within our society who have suffered disabilities to enter the mainstream of the American society.

Equally important is the question of national lifestyle. It is apparent that the direction of a society is a reflection of the values espoused by the consensus of the community. Discerning commentators, by no means pro-Nixon, such as Garry Wills (see his book, "Nixon Agonistes"), have observed an underlying pattern in Nixon's approach to life and worldview. Wills sees him upholding the venerable liberal ideas of achievement through



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effort; restraint; a recognition of the importance of structure and tradition; and the value of giving everyone a chance to start at the same place without guaranteeing that they will end up in a dead heat. Mr. Nixon has tried to uphold these principles in his social policies. These are to be contrasted with those of Senator McGovern. McGovern's election would certainly bring to power those whose morality and worldview would be very different than those now held by the majority of Americans.

That is not to say that Senator McGovern himself favors looser sexual morality, more tolerance of the denigration of the work ethic, etc. But anyone who has watched the course of the campaign and observed the forces for whom the Democratic candidate speaks cannot help but come to the conclusion that those who favor an essential change in American lifestyle and world view see him as their champion. Those who see life in different terms (and I am convinced that traditional Jews are among these) will favor the more traditional approach of President Nixon.

Seymour Siegel is a contributing editor of *Sh'ma*, from which his article is excerpted.

When the Feds Were Writers

By JERRE MANGIONE

PHILADELPHIA — Can a Government-sponsored Writers' Project, such as existed during the New Deal era for more than seven years, be established in our own time? A fascinating question but a difficult one to answer. For like the other W.P.A. arts projects fathomed by the Roosevelt Administration — theater, art, and music — the Writers' Project was a freak enterprise, a creature of the Depression's desperate atmosphere created by a special breed of politicians who believed that writers (as well as artists, actors and musicians) had a right to eat just like other people.

In those days the country was noisy with fairly well-organized militant left-wingers who openly talked of revolution and whose numbers kept increasing. To what extent they influenced the actions of the Roosevelt Administration is, of course, a matter of speculation. But they must have acted as something of a prod for the New Dealers to initiate a program like the Federal Writers' Project, which in any other time would have been considered too radical for Government sponsorship.

The W.P.A. administrators made no bones of the fact that the primary motive of the Writers' Project, in all 48 states, was to take destitute men and women off the relief rolls and set them to work; its cultural goals were to be considered secondary.

To facilitate the hiring of those who qualified as paupers, Henry G. Alsberg, the national director of the Project, announced that in addition to experienced writers and editors, the Project would employ "near writers," "occasional writers" and even would-be writers—"young men and women who

want to write, probably can write, but lack the opportunity."

As a result of such policies, thousands of experienced writers were shut out of the Project either because they could not, for one technical reason or another, qualify for public relief or because their pride would not permit them to do so.

With such a motley crew it was no wonder that Harry Hopkins (the W.P.A. overlord) in the early months

of the Project considered it "fantastic" for the Government to dare play the role of author. And fantastic it was. Yet somehow the nonwriters and would-be writers learned from the writers and they all worked together to produce more good books than anyone dreamed they could, despite the periodic disruption of firings; administrative blundering, political imbroglios and nasty Congressional salvos (chiefly from the burgeoning Dies Committee).

Another Federal Writers' Project would, of course, be a godsend, but where are the hungry writers with this kind of optimism who would demand one? And where is the Administration that would listen to them?

Jerre Mangione, former national coordinating editor of the *Federal Writers' Project*, just published a history of that venture, "The Dream and the Deal."

The Navy Game

By H. G. RICKOVER

WASHINGTON — As the war in Vietnam begins to close out for us and we strive for a zero draft, I can see where it is going to become more and more difficult for the military service to acquire the talents it will need. Depending on the economic situation in the country, it is difficult for me to see how the military can attract the smart high school graduate. He can easily attend college now that they are so accessible and he can find a reasonable paying job without a great deal of difficulty. What incentive does he have to join the military, especially if the mood of the nation is antimilitary? What could easily happen is that the military will attract those who either cannot make the grade in a civilian environment or do not want to exert the effort. In a sense, the military could become a large Government-sponsored social correction agency.

Within the nuclear Navy we are faced with a growing crisis. We need intelligent officers and men to operate these ships. We select the best avail-

able, we give them years of training, and they become a valuable asset to the Navy. But they also become a valuable commodity on the civilian market and we continue to lose them at an unprecedented rate.

With the expansion of our surface fleet in the next two years, the surface nuclear officer requirements will increase by more than 80 per cent. There are insufficient numbers of academically qualified officers commissioned annually to continue to man these ships if the present rate of retention persists.

I am even more concerned over the enlisted retention problem. Today, fewer than 3 per cent of the nuclear trained petty officers completing their initial six-year obligation re-enlist. Of the petty officers composing the middle level of experience—those with six to nine years of service—more than 85 per cent are leaving the Navy for jobs in civilian industry.

Pay increases for the military have been strongly oriented toward attracting young men to enlist in the service.

The increases received by the more senior and experienced personnel did not sufficiently decrease the disparity between the civilian and the military salaries, nor did they compensate for the longer work week or family separations these men encounter.

The combined effect of recruitment-oriented incentives and the dearth of career incentives is to create a massive flowthrough of highly trained but inexperienced personnel attempting to operate and maintain these complex weapons systems. This type of personnel management is not cost effective. No industry could survive by training skilled operators and then firing them after four to six years on the job. As a result, we are attempting to operate increasingly more complex weapons systems with personnel who have been given costly training, but have limited experience.

This article is excerpted from testimony by Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover before the House Appropriations Committee.

THERAPY SCORED
BY HOMOSEXUALS

'Aversion Cure' Is Protested
at Psychiatrists' Meeting

Members of the Gay Activists Alliance yesterday assailed a group of psychologists and psychiatrists meeting here, charging that "aversion therapy" for homosexuals amounts to brainwashing.

Contending that aversion therapy—which is sometimes used by behavior therapists in helping homosexuals become heterosexual—was a "form of torture" and a "downright cruel joke on gay people," the homosexuals, who numbered about 100, demonstrated in front of the New York Hilton hotel, at Sixth Avenue and 53d Street, shouting slogans and distributing pamphlets. The sixth annual convention of the Association for the Advancement of Behavioral Therapy was meeting inside.

To dramatize their accusation, the homosexuals performed a "guerrilla theater" display in which heterosexual volunteers were asked to submit to aversion therapy to "cure" them of their heterosexuality.

This "curing" consisted of flashing pictures of women before male heterosexuals. In actual aversion therapy, the doctor or psychologist uses external stimulants—such as pictures of male nudes—along with shock treatment and other processes in treating homosexuals. This process continues until the patient finds a person of the opposite sex more desirable than one of his sex. Aversion therapy in different form is also used to cure smokers and alcoholics of their addiction.

Demonstration Fizzles

But the demonstration fizzled out in about an hour, largely because not many passers-by seemed to take notice. The protesters then marched into the hotel where, in dozens of suites, the delegates were participants in seminars. In Suite 507, the homosexuals confronted about 50 delegates, and a shouting match developed.

"Aversion therapy is Clockwork Orange!" one demonstrator, whose jacket was decorated with buttons advertising his sexual preference, yelled. He was referring to a scene in "A Clockwork Orange," a film made by Stanley Kubrick, in which the central figure is forcibly made to watch scenes of rape and violence, so that he will learn to abhor and thus be cured of his propensity for violence.

Many delegates—both in the suite and elsewhere in the hotel—felt that the homosexuals had misunderstood the nature of aversion therapy.

"They're picketing the wrong group," said Dr. Robert Liberman, of the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles, who served as program chairman for the convention. "The therapists here have no moral quarrel with homosexuality. All we want to do is to offer assistance for homosexuals to lead a more comfortable, spontaneous and creative life."

Therapy Voluntary

Another delegate, who asked not to be identified, said: "Aversion therapy is entirely voluntary. No one is forcing the homosexual to come to us and be transformed into a heterosexual. How can it be like 'A Clockwork Orange'? There's no compulsion here."

However, Ron Gold, a spokesman for the Gay Activists Alliance, declared that aversion therapy was a "form of social engineering."

"It is brainwashing," Mr. Gold declared. "You can't deal with an individual homosexual's problem without also dealing with the antiquated mores of society. Change must come at a broader, societywide level."

Later in the afternoon, at the final session of the three-day convention, Mr. Gold's contention was supported by Charles Silverstein, director of Identity House, a counsel center for the homosexual community in New York. In an address that was applauded frequently by homosexual members of the audience, Mr. Silverstein said: "We must refuse to use aversion techniques. We must refuse to change homosexuals. It is a technique of violence and I don't believe it works."

Wagner Appoints Woman

Former Mayor Robert F. Wagner announced yesterday that he had named Elizabeth Forsling Harris as a co-coordinator of the McGovern-Shriver state campaign in an effort to marshal the power of women voters. The Associated Press reported. Miss Harris was a founder of Ms magazine and one of the original directors of the Peace Corps.

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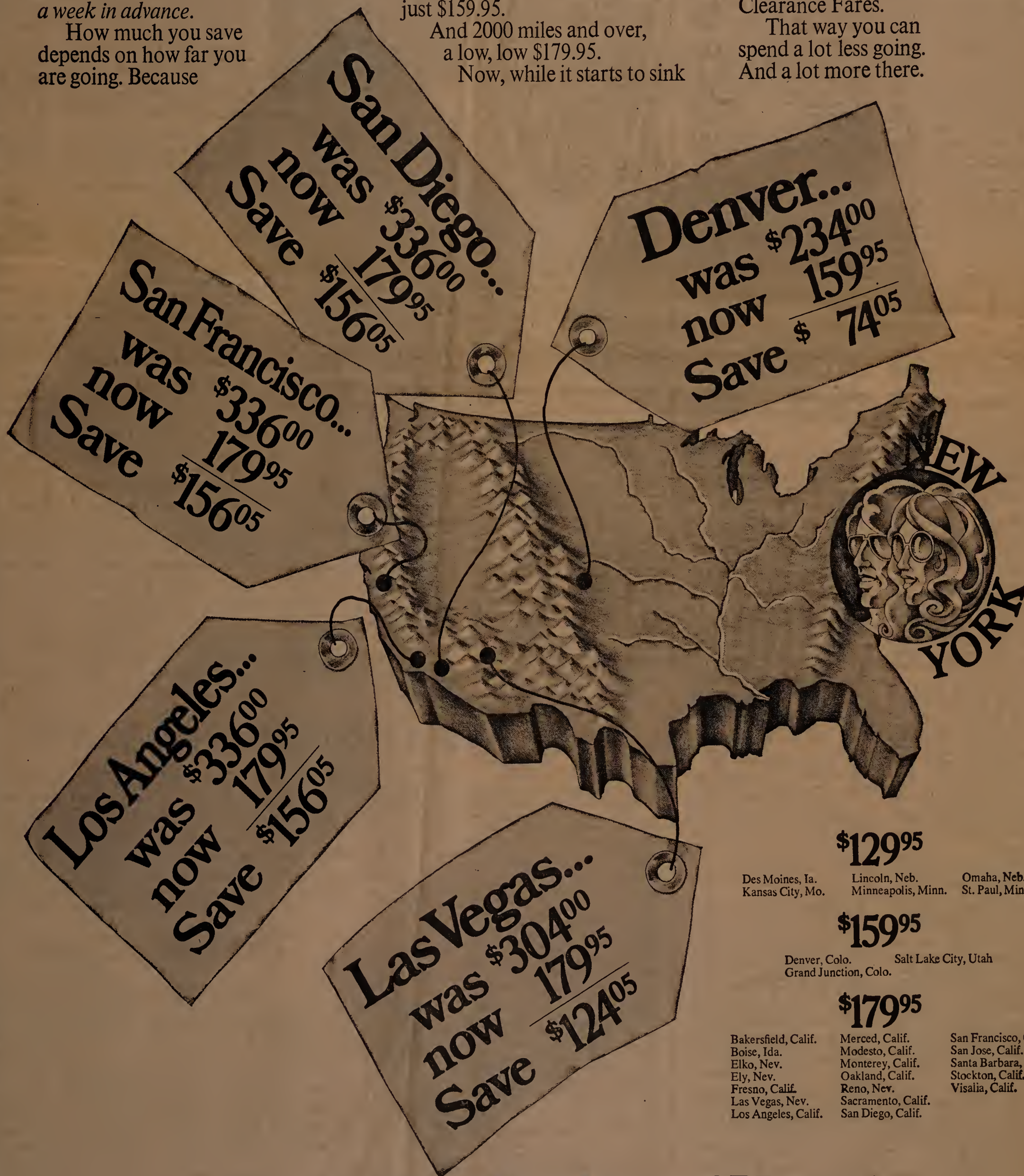
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